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ABSTRACT

Two Japanese causal connectives, "kara" and "node," are often assumed by linguists to share many distributional similarities. This paper argues that they are in fact based on semantically or logically different assumptions. The paper reviews some past treatments of the connectives and suggests an alternative analysis in terms of the differences with respect to their logical structures involving assertion and presupposition. It is stated that "kara" occurs in a bisentential structure in which either: (1) S1 and S2 are both asserted where S2 contains some epistemic qualifier, or (2) only S1 is asserted and there is a related pseudocleft. However, "node" appears in a monosentential structure where S1 is presupposed such that if "p," then "q," and S2 asserted, with the speaker also presupposing that the hearer shares his presuppostion. (CHK)

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REMARKS ON TWO TYPES OF CAUSAL CONNECTIVES IN JAPANESE*

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0. Japanese, like many other languages, has a number of ways in which the concept of causal relationship can be expressed, but two of the various causal connectives, namely kara and node, have been given much more attention by linguists than the other expressions in the same class, presumably because these two share many distributional similarities.

What I would like to do in this paper is to argue that they are in fact based on semantically or logically different assumptions. I will begin by briefly reviewing some of the past treatments of these two connectives and then suggest an alternative analysis in terms of the difference with respect to their logical structures involving assertion and presupposition.

1. Nagano (1951) is, to the best of my knowledge, the first systematic study of semantic differences between kara and node in which some works antedating his analysis are also conveniently summarized. He has observed, first of all, that, in sentences such as the following in which kara is quite normal and node highly strange, the crucial feature shared by all of them is the fact that each is an expression of some 'subjective' content by the speaker--such as supposition, opinion, volition, determination, command, request, invitation, question, etc.

(1) Moo natsuyasumi ni natta kara kaet-te kuru daroo.
already summer vacation became return will

'Since the summer vacation has already started, he will be soon home.'

(2) Gakusei na n da kara benkyoo subeki da.
student is study should

'Since he is a student, he ought to study.'

(3) Ano neko wa mainichi uchi e kuru kara esa o age yoo.
that cat everyday home come food give will

'Since that comes to our house every day, I'll feed him.'

(4) Nureru kara naka e hairi-nasai.
wet inside enter imp.

'Since you will get wet, come inside.'

(5) Yoku wakat-ta kara moo nani mo iwa-nai-de kure.
well understood more nothing say-not please

'Since I have understood it well, please don't say anything any more.'

(6) Furansugo ga wakaru kara mondai wa nai no de shoo.
French know problem absent tag.

'Since you know French, there is no problem, is there?'

A second observation by Nagano is that only kara permits the inversion of A da kara B da 'A because B' into B da. Naze nara-ba A da kara da 'It is B; because A' where B is referred to as the 'theme' and A as its explanation or commentary. An example follows:

(7) Chotto ikare-mas-en. Hoka ni yakusoku ga arimasu kara.
just can go-not another appointment have

'I don't think I can make it; I have another appointment.'

A and B are usually independent of each other (i.e., orginally two separate entities of some sort) with respect to some notion of causation

which the speaker brings together into a causal relationship on his own responsibility.

His third point is that only kara allows the deletion of the main clause as illustrated in the example:

(8) Ima kentoo-shi-te-imasu kara...
now examining

'Since I am now in the process of examining it, ... '

The fourth point Nagano has raised concerns particles such as wa, koso, tote, etc. His argument is that, since these forms can cooccur with kara but not with node, the two connectives are distinct in their formal properties. Some examples follow:

(9) Ano hito ga iu kara wa machigai nai yo.
he say mistake not

'Since he is saying it, there can be no mistake about it.'

(10) Kagakusha da kara koso sekinin ga aru n desu.
scientist be responsibility exist

'I am responsible for it all the more because I am a scientist.'

Fifthly, Nagano has argued that a majority of node sentences make 'objective' (as opposed to 'subjective') statements. Here are some examples:

(11) Umi ni chikai node suzushii.
sea near cool

'Since it is near the ocean, it is cool.'

(12) Yushutsu no nobi ga tomat-ta node keiki ga kootai shi-ta.
export growth stopped business declined

'Since export growth stopped, business declined.'

(13) Hataraki sugi-ta node byooki ni nat-ta.
work exceeded ill became
'Since I worked too much, I got sick.'

(14) Yo ga ake-ta node sampo ni it-ta.
night broke walk went
'Since morning came, I went out for a walk.'

(15) Tenki ga yokat-ta node kaiteki na hikoo dat-ta.
weather good pleasant flight was
'Since the weather was good, we had a good flight.'

His sixth observation is that kara permits epistemic qualifiers[1] like deshoo, daroo, etc. in the clause preceding it but that node prohibits them (e.g., *node deshoo, *node daroo, etc.).

And, finally, Nagano has pointed out that kara allows ... no da to precede it but that node disallows it as shown by the ungrammaticality of *..no da node, etc.

The conclusions Nagano has drawn from these observations merit our serious attention since they are insightful and provide a convenient point of departure for any discussion of this topic. I agree with his conclusions generally as far as they go and would like to develop, rather than refute, the various points he has raised, in later sections of this paper. But now, let me summarize his conclusions:

1. The connective S_1 kara S_2 is used by the speaker to introduce the first clause (S_1) subjectively as the cause/reason for the second clause (S_2).

2. The connective S_1 node S_2 is a device which describes a cause-effect/reason-consequent relationship between S_1 and S_2 as it exists

antecedently beyond any subjective views of the speaker, without introducing any such subjective view of the speaker into that relationship.

2. In this section I would like to review Inoue (1972), who also has studied the differences between kara and node, and to relate some of her findings to Nagano's observations presented in Section 1.

In a manner reminiscent of Rutherford's analysis (1970) of one type of because in English, Inoue argues that a kara clause modifies the higher performative verb. Some of the examples she has considered are the following:[2]

(16) Sono hashigo wa abunai kara orinasai.
*node
that ladder dangerous get down

'Get down, because that ladder is dangerous = It is because that ladder is dangerous that I order you to get down.'

(17) Osoi kara iku no wa yamenasai.
*node

late go nom stop

'Don't go, because it's late. = It is because it's late that I order you not to go.'

(18) Kuraku nat-ta kara hayaku kaeroo.
*node

dark became hurry-home-let's

'Let's hurry home, because it's getting dark. = It is because it's getting dark that I suggest to you that we hurry home.'

(19) Osoku nat-ta kara takushii de ikoo.
*node

late became taxi by go-let's

'Let's go by taxi, because it's getting late. = It is because it's getting late that I suggest that we go by taxi.'

(20) Yakitate da kara oishii yo.
*node

baked-just delicious emph.

'It's delicious, because it has just been baked. = It's because it's just been baked that I tell you that it's delicious.'

(21) Koko wa shoorai ne-agari suru tokoro desu kara ima ga
*node

here in future price-rist place be now

kai-doki desu yo.

buying-time be emph.

'Now is the time for you to buy this property, because this is the place where the price is (sure) to go up in the future. = It's because this is the place where the price is (sure) to go up in the future that I tell you that now is the time for you to buy this property.'

(22) Katoo-san wa heya ni i-nai kara moo kaet-ta no deshoo.
*node

room in is-not already returned be-must

'Mr. Kato must have gone home already, because he is not in his room. = It's because he is not in his room that I (can) say that he has gone home already.'

(23) Kumo ga ugoki-hajime-ta kara mamonaku yamu daroo.
*node

clouds move-begin-past soon stop future

'(The rain) will stop soon, because the clouds have begun to move. = It's because the clouds have begun to move that I (can) say that the rain will stop soon.'

It should be obvious from these examples that kara sentences express some subjective modality of the speaker, as already pointed out by Nagano. And, as the glosses (given by Inoue) show, the kara clause in each case seems to provide the motive for the speaker to utter the post-kara clause or S_2. For example, with regard to sentence (16), the

kara clause provides the answer to the question dooshite? 'why?' concerning the reason why the second cluase is put in the imperative mood ori-nasai 'get down' rather than directly modifying the lexical meaning of oriru 'to get down' as such. As I interpret it, this is what Inoue means when she says that the kara clause modifies the abstract verb of saying (e.g., ORDER) which is not overtly present in surface structure. This is, I think, a good point. However, Inoue states that this analysis hits a snag when confronted with sentences like the following in which node is better but kara "does not seem totally unacceptable." (p. 22)

(24) Atama ga itai ?kara / node iinkai wa kesseki shimasu.
head aches meeting absent
'Since I have a headache, I will not attend the committee meeting.'

(25) Ame ga fut-ta ?kara / node pikunikku wa toriyame ni nat-ta.
rain fall-past picnic cancel become-past
'Since it rained, the picnic was canceled.'

To quote Inoue further, "It seems peculiar to say that the headache is the reason for my saying something to you or that the rain is the reason for my saying that the picnic was cancelled. I do not know what is going on." (p. 23)

A question arises at this point as to what syntactic differences exist between, say, (24) and (20) as far as the second (=main) clause is concerned. It seems to me that the only difference is the presence of yo in (20) and its absence from (24). Then, what happens if yo is added to (24)?

(24') Atama ga itai kara iinkai wa kesseki shimasu yo.
?node

Now, kara sounds much better than node, a reversal of the situation obtaining in (24).

The sentence-final particle yo has been the subject of a study by Uyeno (1971) along with a number of other particles in Japanese, and, according to her conclusion, yo "implies the speaker's emphasis in giving a piece of information to the addressee" (p. 109) and with a declarative sentence yo "forces the information on the addressee as a claim, advice, a warning or the like." (ibid.) Thus, in sentence (24') the kara clause serves to furnish a motivation for the speaker to put forth his position emphatically. It is as if the speaker were mentally going through the following procedures:

(i) Watashi wa kesseki suru yo. 'I will not attend the meeting.'

(ii) Naze ka to iu to, 'If you ask me why,'

(iii) Atama ga itai kara da. '(I say it is) because I have a headache.'

If we stop to look at Inoue's examples (16) through (23) again at this time, we will see that they are all marked by some EQ element[3] at the end of the sentence, and, what is more, many of them obligatorily involve two participants (the speaker and the hearer) in a way a neutral declarative sentence does not. Perhaps this is the easiest to see in the case of imperatives. The speaker issues a command and the hearer receives it. The speaker alone would be unable to perform the act of ordering felicitously. In the case of "let's sentences" this is also obvious. The presence of two obligatory participants is syntactically

marked by 's. We have already seen that the function of yo is to "force the information on the addressee," and it is clear that, if it were not for the addressee, yo would lose all its meaning. In the case of conjectives like (22) and (23), however, this point is less clear, but even these sentences appear to be accommodatable by the internal three-step hypothesis mentioned earlier, namely:

(i) Katoo-san wa moo kaet-ta no deshoo. 'Mr. Kato must have left already.'

(ii) Naze ka to iu to. 'If you ask me why I can say so.'

(iii) Heya ni inai kara desu. 'It's because he is not in the room.'

The reason why (24) with kara and without yo as in (24') has a lower degree of acceptability (recall Inoue's remark quoted earlier which rates this sentence as "not totally unacceptable ") seems to be that a declarative without some EQ at the end is less compatible with kara which involves some mental operation of going through the S_2 - why? - because process discussed earlier--a device which is resorted to only when the speaker has a strong motivation to create some impact (say, a command, edvice, invitation, etc.) upon the hearer. Still it is possible to use kara as in (24), and this kara also modifies the abstract verb SAY. The evidence for this is that the following dialog is well-formed, indicating that because modifies say:

A: I will not attend the meeting.

B: Why do you say that? (Why do you say that you won't attend it?)

A: Why do I say I won't attend it? Well, because I have a headache.

The speaker of (24) above strongly asserts the reason, and it is interesting to observe that just in case S_2 lacks an EQ marker at the

end the S_1 kara S_2 construction has a related pseudocleft counterpart:

(26) (Watashi ga) iinkai o kesseki suru no wa atama ga itai kara
I meeting absence do nom. head ache

desu.
is

'Why I will not attend the committee meeting is because I have a headache.'

(27) Picnic ga toriyame ni nat-ta no wa ame ga fut-ta kara desu.
cancel became rain fell is

'Why the picnic was cancelled was because it rained.'

The sentential subject of these pseudocleft sentences is presupposed and the predicate asserted. In contrast, similar sentences with node in them instead of kara presuppose the reason and assert the main clause. To see this, consider the follwoing dialog in which the reason is the focal point because it constitutes an answer to the question:

(28) a. (Anata wa) naze iinkai o kesseki shi-masu ka.
you why meeting absence do-pol. Q

'Why are you going to be absent from the meeting?'

b. Atama ga itai kara iinkai o kesseki shi-masu.
head aches meeting absence do-pol.

'I am going to be absent from the meeting because I have a headache.'

c. Atama ga itai kara desu.

'Because I have a headache.'

d. ?Atama ga itai node iinkai o kesseki shi-masu.

'same gloss as b. above.'

e. *Atama ga itai node desu.

'same gloss as c. above.'

(29) a. Picnic wa naze toriyame ni nat-ta ka.
why cancel became Q

'Why was the picnic cancelled?'

b. Amega fut-ta kara picnic wa toriyame ni nat-ta.
rain fell

'The picnic was cancelled because it rained.'

c. Ame ga fut-ta kara da.

'Because it rained.'

d. ?Amega fut-ta node picnic wa toriyame ni nat-ta.

'same gloss as b. above.'

e. *Ame ga fut-ta node da.

'same gloss as c. above.'

Therefore, the two sentences, the one with node and the other with kara, are not synonymous in the strict sense of the term. The assumptions and the attitudes on the part of the speaker in kara sentences are not the same as those in node sentences. It is this assertion of a reason as such that gives (24) above the overtone of a rather selfish or egoistic statement which is absent from its node counterpart, and it is also on this score that the hearer gets from (25) the impression that the speaker is trying to lay the blame on the rain, which is again missing from its node counterpart.

Consider here another example taken from the Intensive Course in Japanese, a textbook for elementary Japanese: (pp. 293-294)

(30) Johnsonsan wa gakusei ni shika oshie-ta koto ga nai kara
Mr. J. students to only teach-past that not

to it-te kangae-te-i-masu.
quot. say-ing think-ing-is-pol.

'Mr. Johnson says that he has only taught students up to now, so he is still thinking it over.'

Here, the "B" clause of the pattern (A dakara B da) is not stated directly. Some more examples of the same kind are:

(31) Yamakawa-san wa samui kara to it-te mado o shime-mashi-ta.
cold that say-ing window close-pol.past

'Mr. Yamakawa closed the window, saying that he was cold.'

(32) Anata ga kuru kara to omot-te doko e mo dekake-mas-en-
you come that think-ing anywhere go-pol.neg-

deshi-ta.
pol.-past

'I was expecting you to come, so I didn't go out anywhere.'

However, notice the following:

(33) a. ?Johnson-san wa gakusei ni shika oshie-ta koto ga nai node to it-te kangae-te-i-masu. (same gloss as (30))

b. Johnson-san wa gakusei ni shika oshie-ta koto ga nai node chotto jishin ga nai to it-te kangae-te-i-masu.
quite confidence not

'Mr. Johnson says that he is not quite confident because he has only taught students up till now, so he is still thinking it over.'

(34) a. *Yamakawa-san wa samui node to it-te mado o shime-mashi-ta. (same gloss as (31))

b. Yamakawa-san wa samui node kaze o hiku to komaru to
cold a cold catch trouble

it-te mado o shime-mashi-ta.
say-ing window close-pol.-past

'Mr. Yamakawa closed the window saying "It is cold, and if I catch cold I would be in trouble."'

(35) a. *Anata ga kuru node to omot-te doko e mo dekake-mas-en deshi-ta. (same gloss as (32))

(35) b. Anata ga kuru node gochisoo o shiyoo to omot-te
you come feast give that think-ing

doko e mo dekake-mas-en deshi-ta.
anywhere go-out-pol.-neg-pol.-past

'I didn't go out anywhere thinking that, because you were coming, I would entertain you with dinner.'

The point of all these examples is that all of the sentences with node are either unacceptable or worse than their kara counterparts if they lack their main clauses (i.e., all a's above), while those with the main clause included, i.e., the b's, are well-formed, thus showing that one can assert a kara clause but can only presuppose a node clause.

To cite another example, this time from English, suppose someone says:

(36) Why isn't John coming to class?

and I might answer:

(37) John (He) isn't coming to class because he is sick.

it is clear that the underlined part is presupposed, repeating as it does exactly the same thing as the question. In other words, this sentence is the same as:

(38) The reason why John (he) isn't coming to class is that he is sick.

in which that he is sick is not an adverbial modifier any more but an ingredient of the main clause (namely, the complement of the copula is).

There is another interesting observation, also due to Inoue, to which I would like to refer at this point. She has shown that the factive nature of no and the non-factive character of to which Kuno (1973) discusses show up in the following sentences:

(39) John wa Mary ga tsumbo na node, party ni wa issai ikanai.
deaf at all go-not

'John does not go to parties (with Mary) at all because she is deaf.'

(40) John wa Mary ga tsumbo da kara, party ni wa issai ikanai.

'It is because Mary is deaf that I say that John does not go to parties at all with Mary.'

Inoue says that in (40) "the speaker is suggesting that Mary's being deaf is the reason why John does not go to parties. But the speaker does not know this for a fact." (p. 24) However, I have a different intuition about the interpretation of this sentence. To me, it is synonymous with:

(41) Mary wa tsumbo da. Dakara John wa ...
deaf is therefore

'Mary is deaf. Therefore, John does not ...'

where the speaker must believe it to be true that Mary is deaf unless he is lying (since he declares this sentence), and where the word dakara 'therefore' contains kara, the morpheme in question, as part of its make-up. In other words, the speaker is asserting both that Mary is deaf and that he does not go to parties with her because of it. In contrast, Inoue's statement that (39) "is stating that it is a known fact that Mary's being deaf is the reason that John doesn't go to parties" (p. 24) may be accounted for by my hypothesis that node provides presupposed material, that is to say, the node clause is presupposed true. Notice incidentally that we do not have:

(42) Mary wa tsumbo da. *Na node John wa ...
*Da node

which follows the pattern of (41). Thus, (40) is qualitatively

different from Inoue's (39), which is my (43) below:

(43) John wa Mary ga tsumbo da kara to (it-te), party ni wa
deaf is because say-ing

issai ikanai.
at all go-not

'John does not go to parties at all (with Mary) saying that Mary is deaf.'

which explicitly imputes the knowledge of Mary's deafness only to John, thereby absolving the speaker of this claim, whereas in (40) Mary wa tsumbo da is a claim, not of John, but of the speaker himself. In other words, only in (43) does the speaker not know that Mary is deaf; in (40) he knows (Inoue's statement to the contrary notwithstanding) that she is deaf, just as in (39), the difference being that in the former (kara) he is asserting it while in the latter (node) he is presupposing it.

Inoue then goes on to consider the following sentence:

(44) Otto ga uwaki o shita koto (*no, *to) kara, tsuma wa
husband affair do comp. because wife

ie-de shi-ta.
house-leave do-past

'It is because her husband had an affair that I say to you that the wife (finally) left home.'

and suggests that in this sentence kara "is, perhaps, a so-called cause-particle meaning 'from' which is homophonous to the kara of the because clause." (p. 25) It seems to me, however, that these two kara are one and the same thing in all other sentences as well. It refers to the source from which something comes out. We interpret two usages

differently not because there are two kara's but because of the different nature of the complement: one is nominal, the other sentential. Thus, in (24), my headache is the source from which I derive the reason (or motivation) for my absence from the conference. In (25) the rain is the source from which I draw the consequence of my inability to go on a picnic.

On the other hand, de or node seems to be the reason/cause particle de which shows up, for instance, in sentences like:

(45) John wa byooki de shin-da.
illness by die-past
'John died of an illness.'

(46) Ohio wa tornado de higai o uke-ta.
damage receive-past
'Ohio was damaged by a tornado.'

(47) Koojoo wa kaji de yake-ta.
factory fire burn-past
'The factory was burnt in a fire.'

Actually, Makino (1968) adduces several pieces of evidence in favor of the view that de of node is in fact the reason or cause particle. Nagano (1951) also takes this position. In a later section I will return to this matter again.

Incidentally, Inoue also looks at the following dialog:

(48) Kinoo wa dooshi-ta no (n) desu ka.
yesterday how-do-past nom. Q
'What happened yesterday?'

(49) Kaze o hii-ta no (n) desu.
*kara
cold catch-past
'(The reason was that) I caught a cold.'

and says that in (48) the speaker knows that the addressee did not come to work yesterday just as he does in (49). Consider also the following in this connection:

(50) Kinoo wa dooshi-te yasun-da no (n) desu ka.
yesterday why absent-past nom. Q
'Why were you absent yesterday?'

(51) Kaze o hii-ta no (n) desu.
?kara
'It is that I caught a cold.'

Inoue continues that in (48) the speaker omitted yasunda 'were absent', and that seems to have made the kara unacceptable in (49)--a phenomenon she considers mysterious.

If one accepts the view that kara clauses without EQ's at the end of the sentence have related pseudoclefts, however, there seems to be an explanation available for the above phenomenon. That is to say, for (50) and (51) the following sentence holds:

(52) Kinoo yasun-da no wa kaze o hii-ta kara desu.
yesterday absent-past nom. cold catch-past because is
'The reason why I was absent yesterday was that I caught a cold.'

However, no such pseudocleft is found for (48) and (49), because the following is unacceptable:

(53) *Kinoo dooshi-ta no wa kaze o hii-ta kara desu.
yesterday how-do-past nom cold catch-past because is
'What happened yesterday was that I caught a cold.'

I have so far put more focus on kara than node. However, at this point I will leave Inoue and present my views on both kara and node.

3. In this section I will advance a set of hypotheses which are in consonance with the facts as noted by Nagano and Inoue but which seem to me to be able to capture deeper generalizations at the level of logical structures of the kara and node constructions.

Hypothesis I

An S_1 node S_2 construction is a mono-sentential structure in which S_1 provides presuppositions and S_2 makes an assertion. Moreover, no of node is a nominalizer of the usual sort which is found, for example, in such constructions as ... no desu, and de an instrumental particle as in kaze de yasumi-mashi-ta 'was absent due to a cold'. The speaker of a sentence using this construction presupposes:

(a) that if p, then q.

(b) that p.

and (c) that the hearer also shares the same presuppositions.

And he asserts S_2. To cite an example, the speaker of a sentence such as:

(54) Kuuki ga kirei na node kenkoo ni ii.
air clean health for good
'Since the air is clean, it is good for health.'

commits himself to the presuppositions that, if the air is clean (if p), then it is good for our health (then q) and that the air is in fact clean (that p). He asserts, therefore, that it is good for health (q). He is of course committed to the other side of the same coin, namely that if the air is not clean, then it is not good for our health. In his belief system, then, the antecedent entails the consequent.

It is to be noted also that S_1 is an embedded sentence by virtue

of the nominalizer no, and so is subject to various degrees of shielding[4] which places restrictions on the nature of epistemic qualification permitted by that S. In short, the connective node is downstairs. Schematically, this may be shown as follows:

(A) Sentence Ø kara (an upstairs phenomenon)

(B) (Sentence no)$_N$ de (a downstairs phenomenon)

In other words, in (B) the sentence is protected by the nominalizer no (this is the notion of shield) and hardly anyone can contest the content of it which is presupposed, whereas in (A) the sentence has no such shield and the sentence there is open to challenge since it is an assertion. Let me reiterate that in using S_1 node S_2 the speaker assumes if S_1 then S_2 and believes at the same time that the hearer also shares this assumption. As I will show later, by using S_1 kara S_2, however, the speaker declares, by fiat as it were, that S_1 and S_2 have a reason-and-result or a cause-and-effect relationship. Herein lies the difference between upstairs and downstairs, the latter shielded by the door of varying degrees of tightness, as it were.

Hypothesis II

An S_1 kara S_2 construction is a bisentential structure where two situations could arise: (i) both S_1 and S_2 are asserted; (ii) only S_1 is asserted, with S_2 serving as a presupposition. Under the first situation, S_2 includes an EQ such as imperative, let's imperative, conjecture, etc. in the sense of Nakada (1976) and S_1 modifies the higher performative verb of ORDERing, etc.[5] Another way of stating this generalization is to say that when S_1 modifies the higher performative verb of S_2, S_2 is invariably qualified in the epistemic sense.

Under the second situation, the sentence has a related pseudo-cleft. At least on one reading, sentence (a) below is assumed to hav- the logical structure like (b):

(55) a. Kuuki-ga kirei da kara kenkoo ni yoi.
air clean is (S_1) health for good (S_2)

b. Kenkoo ni yoi no wa kuuki ga kirei da kara da.
(S_2) (S_1)

in which S_2 is presupposed and S_1 asserted. Notice that in this case S_2 is epistemically neutral, that is, it has to be a definite statement. When S_2 is thus not marked by a modality element, the focus seems to shift to S_1. It seems to have the underlying semantic structure of the following sort:

(i) (Koko wa) kenkoo ni yoi. 'This place is good for health.'

(ii) Naze ka. 'Why?'

(iii) Kuuki ga kirei da kara da. 'Because the air is clean.'

As I have pointed out in Nakada (1974), this is the logical formula (a self-generated question and a volunteered answer) for pseudoclefts.

The observation by Nagano, referred to in Section 1, to the effect that node sentences are somehow objective has a natural explanation here. That is to say, since the speaker assumes if S_1 then S_2 and believes simultaneously that the hearer also assumes this, by using node he does not have to put forth his views and opinions strongly. Conversational postulates require that the speaker should say only what is necessary to be said, and if he presupposes that his interlocuter thinks the same as he does, any strongly subjective statement would certainly be out of

place. That is why S_2 in the node construction is felt to be 'objective'.

It has been pointed out by Nagano (p. 39) that the irregular use of node in cases where kara is expected because the end of the sentence is marked by subjective expressions like ... te kudasai 'please do', for example, makes for softness or politeness. The reason why the sentences give the impression of softness or politeness to the hearer seems to be that the speaker assumes, rather than declares, that if p, then q, and, further, takes for granted that the other party agrees, rather than having to fight for his agreement.

The reason why kara sentences are 'subjective', on the other hand, is that the speaker does not presuppose any entailment relationship between S_1 and S_2, and, what is more, does not have any reason to believe that his hearer does. Therefore, the speaker has to make this causal connection between S_1 and S_2 by explicitly declaring the connection, by fiat as it were, as I said before.

In this connection, Lakoff (1970) discusses the ambiguity of a sentence in English like:

(56) He doesn't beat his wife because he likes her.

which has two readings, as follows:

(57) a. It is not because he likes her that he beats his wife.

b. It is because he likes her that he doesn't beat his wife.

Corresponding to (57a) we have a Japanese sentence reading:

(58) a. Kare ga tsuma o naguru no wa tsuma o aishi-te-iru kara to iu wake dewa nai.

but not:

(58) b. *Kare ga tsuma o naguru no wa tsuma o aishi-te-iru node to iu wake dewa nai.

although for (58b) both of the following appear to be acceptable:

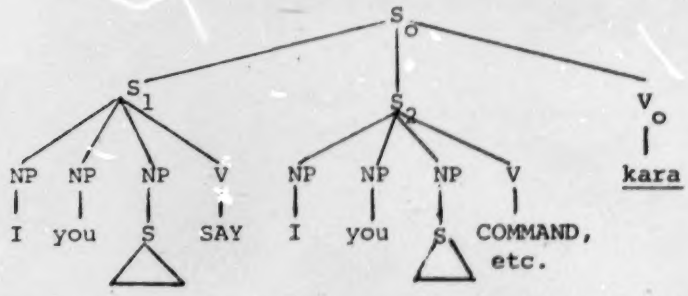
(59) a. Kare wa tsuma o aishi-te-iru kara nagura nai.

b. Kare wa tsuma o aishi-te-iru node nagura nai.

'He does not beat his wife since he loves her.'

These facts also show that kara introduces an assertion, but node introduces a presupposition.

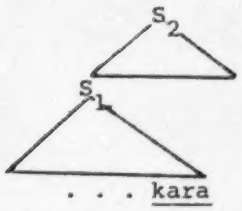
The foregoing discussion is in consonance with a proposal by Kitagawa (1972:198-199), who states that kara binds two performative sentences, as follows:



Node, however, occurs in a mono-sentential structure.

4. In this section I will review Tawa (1974) in the light of the discussions in the preceding sections.

Tawa has apparently reached an opposite conclusion from mine, since she states that "a clause ending with kara is a subordinate sentence and a sentence with no de is a coordinate sentence..." (p. 47) However, she has not discussed the reason why she considers kara to be a subordinate conjunctive particle (cf. p. 53) but simply assumes that it has the following structure:



While she refers to Nagano (1951), Asami (1963), and Hosono (1972), there is nothing in these works to suggest the above structure. On the contrary, the diagram Wako reproduced of Hosono (p. 48) seems to indicate the contrary although it differs from my proposal also in significant respects. Tawa's sentences (8) and (9) taken from Hosono, which I reproduce below as (60) and (61), argue for the coordinate status of kara and subordinate status of node. As I have indicated earlier in connection with the notion of shield, embedded sentences are resistant to egocentric EQ's to varying degrees, while upstairs is quite unconstrained in this respect. It is this difference between upstairs and downstairs that also accounts for the differential behavior between kara and node noted by Tawa, as in the following:

(60) Ame ga huru daroo kara kasa o motte iku.
rain fall conjec. umbrella take

'I will take an umbrella with me because it looks like it will rain.'

(61) *Ame ga huru daroo no de kasa o motte iku.

'same gloss as (60) above.'

(62) Okane ga atta kara koso sore ga dekita no desu.
money existed emph. that could do nom. is

'It was possible for him only because he had money.'

(63) *Okane ga atta no de koso sore ga dekita no desu.

'same gloss as (62) above.'

(64) Watashi ga tsukau no desu kara sore de ii desu.
I use nom. is that good is

'That would be fine since I am going to use it.'

(65) *Watashi ga tsukau no desu no de sore de ii desu.

'same gloss as (64) above.'

(66) Mado o shimete kudasai - samui kara.
window close please cold

'Please close the window - because it is cold.'

(67) *Mado o shimete kudasai - samui no de.

'same gloss as (66) above.'

(68) Kirai da kara yo.
dislike emph.

'It's because I don't like it.'

(69) *Kirai na no de yo.

'same gloss as (68) above.'

My conclusion is that kara is coordinate and node subordinate.

Actually, Tawa is more interested in analyzing node, which she considers is composed of no and de, a position with which I also agree. However, her argument that de is the te- form of the copula da is not convincing. As two reasons why she cannot consider de to be the instrumental particle, she cites the following examples:

(70) Jitensha de kimashi ta.
bicycle by come-past

'I came by bicycle.'

(71) Jitensha de koso koko made korare-ta no desu yo.
emph. here to could come nom. is emph.

'It was only by bicycle that I was able to come here.'

(72) Nan de kita no.
what by come-past nom. (Q)
'How did you come here?'

(73) Jitensha de yo.
'By bicycle.'

Notice, however, that koso and yo are both strongly assertive forms as I have shown in earlier sections. The sentence embedded in no has been shown, on independent grounds, to be presupposed rather than asserted, and it is this presuppositional nature of no that is responsible for the non-occurrence of node in construction with koso and yo. NP's such as jitensha 'bicycle' cannot constitute a viable presupposition because a presupposition is, by definition, propositional in content. What is more, there are no sentences in which the te-form of the copula da coexists with koso and yo, either. For example, the following do not exist:

(74) *Watashi wa mada gakusei de koso S_2. (te- < da)
I still student
'Only because I am a student, S_2.'

(75) *Yamada-san wa hade zuki de yo. (te- < da)
gaudy like
'Mr. Yamada is prone to gaudiness.'

The reason why node tends to be used in polite sentences has quite an independent explanation, as I have shown earlier, and does not argue for the assumption that "de comes from the -te of desu." (p. 51) The foregoing quotation itself needs to be modified, since -te form is the gerundive of da and not of desu. Te-forms in general are supposed to be neutral with respect to honorification as the following examples

show:

(76) Watashi wa bus ni not-te Ginza e iki-mashi-ta.
I by ride-ing to go-pol.-past
'I went to the Ginza by riding a bus.'

(77) ?? Watashi wa bus ni nori-mashi-te Ginza e iki-mashi-ta.
'same gloss as (76) above.'

In fact, Tawa is not unaware of the problem which her analysis runs into, because she admits (p. 52) the inadvisability of deriving natural sentences from unnatural sentences. That is, if de of node is the te-form of the copulative da, then the underlying forms of her (26) and (27) which are my (78) and (79) below would be the following:

(78) Watakushi-domo ga sochira ni mairi-masu no de o-machi ni
we over there come wait
nat-te kudasai-mas-en ka.
become give-pol.-neg Q
'Would you please wait for us since we will come over there?'

(79) Takai mono desu no de sashi-age-rare-mas-en.
expensive thing give-pot.-pol.-neg.
'We cannot offer this to you since it is expensive.'

(30) S_1: ?Watakushi-domo ga sochira ni mairi-masu no desu.
S_2: O-machi ni nat-te kudasai-mas-en ka.

(81) S_1: ?Takai mono desu no desu.
S_2: Sashi-age-rare-mas-en.

But S_1 above is unnatural in each case, and her analysis fails in this instance. This concludes my review of Tawa's treatment of kara and node.

5. In this paper I have argued that two causal connectives in Japanese, kara and node, have different assumptions associated with

their respective semantics in spite of the similarity in superficial distribution. I have claimed, in particular, that, whereas kara occurs in a bisentential structure in which either (i) S_1 and S_2 are both asserted where S_2 contains some epistemic qualifier or (ii) only S_1 is asserted in which case there is a related pseudocleft, node appears in a monosentential structure where S_1 is presupposed such that if p, then q, and S_2 asserted, with the speaker also presupposing that the hearer shares his presupposition.

The proposal has been found to be able to explain phenomena not adequately accounted for or not dealt with by the treatments of the same subject by Nagano (1951), Inoue (1972), and Tawa (1974).

FOOTNOTES

*This is a revised and expanded version of a section of my Michigan dissertation (=Nakada 1976b). I would like to thank the following persons for reading and commenting on earlier versions of this section: Ann Borkin, Kyoko Inoue, John Lawler, Susumu Nagara, and Charles Pyle. They do not necessarily agree with everything I have stated, and all misrepresentations or errors remaining in this paper are the author's sole responsibility.

[1]For a full treatment of epistemic qualifiers, see Nakada 1976b.

[2]These as well as all subsequent numbers assigned to example sentences in this paper are my own unless otherwise indicated.

[3]Cf. Nakada 1976b.

[4]Cf. Nakada 1976b, particularly the notion of shield.

[5] The internal configuration that this proposal entails is far from clear at this stage.

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